Author(s):	Nordenstreng, Kaarle
Title:	The international movement of journalists: 120 years of continuing struggle
Main work:	Hifzi Topuz'a Armagan Kitabi. Iletisimin Devrim Yillari [Hizfi Topuz Festschrift. The revolutionary years of communication]
Editor(s):	Özbilgen, Füsun
Year:	2014
Pages:	125-163
ISBN:	978-9944-157-79-7
Publisher:	ILAD Hiperlink
Discipline:	Media and communications
School /Other Unit:	School of Communication, Media and Theatre
Item Type:	Article in Compiled Work
Language:	en
URN:	URN:NBN:fi:uta-201404291365

THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT OF JOURNALISTS: 120 YEARS OF CONTINUING STRUGGLE

Prof. Dr. Kaarle Nordenstreng*

Hıfzı Topuz was acting chief of the Division for Free Flow of Information and Communication Policies at UNESCO in February 1978 when he signed a letter of invitation addressed to seven international and regional associations of journalists to attend a consultative meeting at the UNESCO headquarters on 17-19 April 1978. It was a timely initiative, bringing together organizations which united nearly 300,000 journalists from all continents. It led to regular meetings and concrete achievements such as the book *Journalist: Status, Rights and Responsibilities* (Nordenstreng&Topuz 1989).

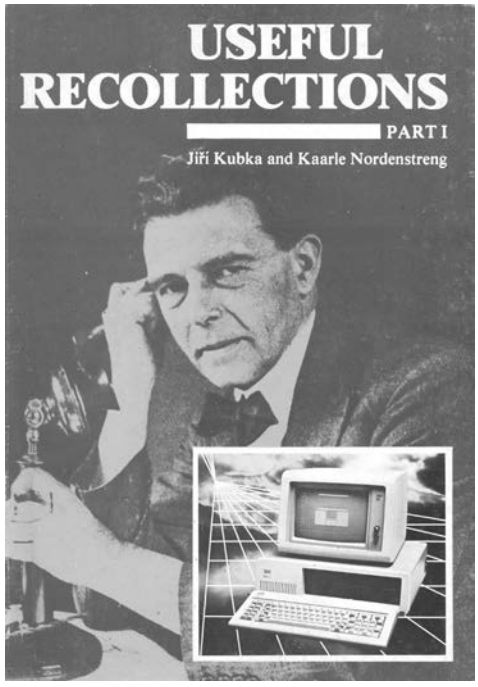
Hıfzı has indeed a notable place in the history of the field – both as a founding member of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR)[1] and as the arm of UNESCO during the heyday of cooperation between the journalists of the world. This golden age lasted for less than two decades; it was preceded by a Cold War dominated period of tensions until the détente of the 1970s and followed by another turbulent period in the 1990s after the collapse of Communism in Central/Eastern Europe. The full history of the international movement of journalists includes several periods with exciting developments beginning in the late 19th century, when journalism gained recognition as a profession, and national associations started to convene international congresses, the first of these in 1894.

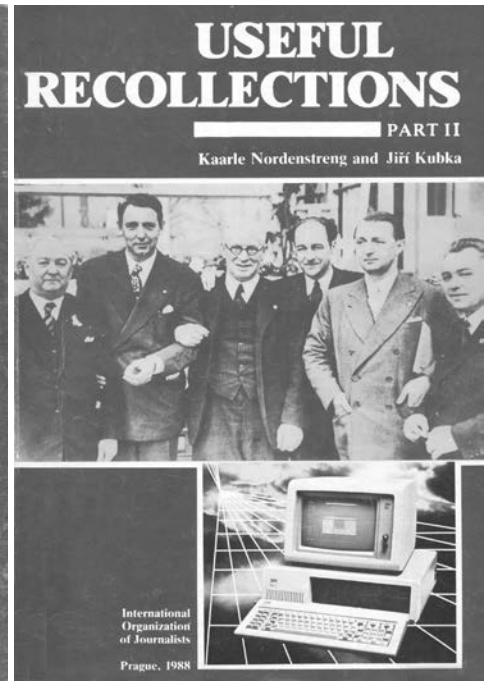
I came to study the history of the movement when serving as the President of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) and preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the IOJ in 1986. This homework with the IOJ General

* Professor Emeritus University of Tampere, kaarle.nordenstreng@uta.fi

1 See http://www.iamcr.org/about-iamcr/history

Secretary JiřiKubka led to a two-part book *Useful Recollections: Excursion into the History of the International Movement of Journalists* (Kubka&Nordenstreng 1986; Nordenstreng&Kubka 1988). It was a somewhat polemical presentation of history, but produced remarkable discoveries about how the movement started and evolved until World War II and how the IOJ was founded as an ecumenical project in 1946, followed by geopolitical divisions during the Cold War.





Useful Recollections brought together a lot of unique documentation reaching up to the 1960s. The rest of the history, including the heyday of cooperation in the 1980s and the developments since then until the new millennium, remained for me and others to write later.[2] The present article is a resumé of *Useful Recollections,* covering the first 70 years of the movement.[3] This history is largely

2 Part III of Useful Recollections about the IOJ from the late 1960s to the 1990s (covering both the aftermath of the Prague Spring of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the Velvet Revolution of the Czech Republic in 1989) is under preparation by myself with the support of Vaclav Slavik, who served as the head of the IOJ documentation service in the 1970s and as the director of its successor, the International Journalism Institute in the 1980s. After this IOJ-related record, an academic book on the movement at large from the late 19th century to the present day will be compiled by me with Ulf Jonas Bjork and Frank Beyersdorf.

3 The two-part book is out of print but is in the process of being made available in electronic form in Google Books http//books.google.com

forgotten but worth knowing for all wishing to understand how we have come to where we are today. A brief review on the developments during the past 50 years at the end of the article serves as preview of the forthcoming works, which will include more comprehensive coverage of facts and views.

The starting point in the 1890s[4]

The first national organizations, often called press clubs, began to appear in the UK, France and other countries in the second half of the 19th century. At first they were merely guild organizations and although at that time most journalists were already wage earners, they were not always closely associated with the trade union movement, which was rapidly getting organized. Journalists typically considered themselves as publishers, and thus the first organizations of the field were associated with both the owners of the press and the journalists; for example, the Association of the Swiss Press, founded in Berne in 1883, and the Institute of Journalism established in London in 1890. Yet there were also organizations which followed a clear trade union orientation, such as the syndicate established in the Netherlands in 1884 and the syndicate of French journalists founded in 1886. In the UK, the National Union of Journalists was established in 1907 and affiliated to the British Trade Union Congress in 1920. This was the pattern for most national associations of journalists established after 1900 in Scandinavia, Australia, USA, etc.

The newspaper publishers and editors were even faster to organize than journalists. In the UK, the Newspaper Society was founded as early as 1836 to safeguard the interests of British newspaper owners. In the USA, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association was founded in 1887.

In short, by the 1890s journalists and publishers in most European countries were more or less organized – not everywhere in solid associations but at least as loose fraternities around a common profession. Newspapers were growing along with increasing advertising and the press achieved a higher profile both in politics and as a form of industrial modernization. Under these circumstances journalism gradually came to be regarded as a profession (Hoyer&Lauk 2003).

Obviously the time was ripe for national groups to be internationally connected for mutual benefit: to learn from each other and to strengthen the profession's

4 This passage is mainly based on Useful Recollections, Part I (Kubka&Nordenstreng 1986: 41-50) and Bjork (2005).

prestige. The initiative for international conferences and a permanent international organization in the field was made at a small meeting of British, French and Belgian journalists arranged by the Institute of Journalism in London in 1893. This led to convening of the *1st International Congress of the Press* in Antwerp (Belgium), in July 1894, in connection with a larger exhibition in that city.

The Congress in Antwerp was attended by delegates from 17 European countries, including the three conveners and Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden as well as Russia – but not Turkey, nor Finland. The only delegate from outside Europe was from New Zealand. No Americans, neither North nor South.

The agenda and discussions are well documented in the proceedings published by the organizational committee.[5] Six plenary sessions during three days discussed a wide range of topics, including the definition of a journalist, the characteristics of the profession, professional education, Sunday work, and problems faced by women journalists. Special attention was paid to issues of copyright (Bjork 1996). These discussions look amazingly topical and fresh today, 120 years later.

On the agenda was naturally also the question of how continue the Congresses and to establish a permanent association. Accordingly, the Antwerp Congress is counted as the launching place for the *International Union of Press Associations (IUPA)*, although this first international organization of journalists was formally established only two years later after its constitution was drawn up and adopted by the next two congresses in Bordeaux (1895) and Budapest (1896). IUPA was based in Paris and by 1900 its congress was attended by 69 associations from 24 countries, representing over 10,000 journalists and publishers.

IUPA's congress met altogether 15 times between 1894 and 1914, when World War I disrupted all regular activities. Participants came mostly from the "old" European countries but occasionally also from Turkey, Egypt, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Japan. After the war the first disagreement erupted about admitting members from the former Central Powers, and by 1927, when the congress was able to meet again, it had lost much of its momentum to a new federation

5 See 1er Congrès International de la Presse (1894). This 104-page publication surfaced in some libraries and served as the main source on how the international movement really started (for both Kubka&Nordenstreng and for Bjork). The proceedings contain as appendices five lengthy presentations, including Aaron Watson's "On Copyright, or the Protection of Literary Property" and Grace Stuart's "English Women in Journalism".

of working journalists which had been established in the interim on a trade union basis. Moreover, in 1933 the newspaper publishers also established their own federation (later named FIEJ and nowadays WAN). Nevertheless, IUPA survived until 1938, when its last congress was held.

Consequently, while IUPA had a spectacular beginning, inspiring a generation of professionals to engage in international cooperation, its idea as a common platform for both publishers and working journalists did not meet the challenges of the early 20th century and therefore it was doomed to disappear.

The FIJ between the World Wars[6]

As pointed out in *Useful Recollections, Part I,* in the early 20th century there was a boom of international organizations in the field (Kubka&Nordenstreng 1986: 50-52). These included special sectors of the press – the periodic press, the sporting press, the Roman Catholic press and even revolutionary-proletarian writers – as well as geopolitically based organizations such as the Imperial Union of Journalists (1909, later the Commonwealth Press Union) and the Inter-American Press Association (1942).

The most important of the post-World War I organizations was to be the international federation of journalists, established in 1926 with the official name *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes (FIJ).* It was based on the initiative of the French Journalists' Syndicate which hosted a founding meeting in Paris in June 1926. Represented at the meeting were unions of journalists from 21 countries. In the name of the commission which had prepared the session, Stephen Valot of the French syndicate opened the meeting by announcing that the idea of founding a new organization resulted from a survey on the working conditions of journalists in various countries organized in 1925 by the International Labour Office (ILO)[7]. The profession of journalist, he noted, was becoming increasingly international, making it imperative for journalists to be organized on an international level.

During the discussion, certain doubts were first voiced about the relations of the new organization to IUPA, but, after its special character was explained, the

6 This passage is based on Useful Recollections, Part I "The Shaping of International Cooperation: From the 1880s to the 1940s" (Kubka&Nordenstreng 1986: 50–85). The quotes below are taken from this book.

7 The results of the survey were published in Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists (1928). Excerpts from this report are reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part I.

doubts were allayed and those present unanimously adopted a decision to set up a new organization. Its statute, drawn up by the hosts, was then approved. According to the statute the FIJ is an association of national organizations of journalists whose members are exclusively professional journalists, affiliated to the permanent editorial office of a newspaper or a news agency and whose main income is from journalistic work. Thus the goal of the organization was clearly to safeguard the rights and trade union benefits of professional journalists and to improve their working conditions. Among the statutory tasks were the following:

> The elaboration, preservation, and publication of statistical and other documents of a nature to assist in the work of defending professional interests;
> The study of formulas capable of bringing about the institution of standard contracts for individual or collective employment, and the general surveillance of the enforcement of these contracts wherever they have been accepted;
> The extension to journalists of all countries of the advantages and the rights won by national associations.

The meeting decided that the *1st FIJ Congress*, which was to officially establish the organization, would take place in Geneva in the chambers of ILO in September 1926. It was attended by unions of journalists from nearly 20 European countries. Also represented were ILO and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the predecessor of UNESCO) as well as the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations.[8]

The congress heard a report by ILO on the working conditions of journalists in different countries and pledged to help in the successful completion of its international survey. The congress also declared that it would defend the freedom of the press and of journalism by all means and would strive for these freedoms to be guaranteed by law.

At the time of its establishment, the FIJ united through its national member associations altogether 25,000 journalists. By joining the Federation, each association implicitly acknowledged the principles of a syndicalist organization the

8 The League of Nations, predecessor of the United Nations, played an important role in promoting press policies in the 1920s and early 1930s; see Kubka&Nordenstreng (1986: 69-73) and Nordenstreng&Seppä (1986).

main task of which was the conclusion of working contracts, the setting of minimum wages and the acknowledgement of a court of arbitration as an institution to settle disputes between journalists and the newspapers for which they worked.

The FIJ had a permanent secretariat in Paris, administrated by a secretary general elected for four years, and an executive committee composed of two members for every country affiliated and meeting annually. A bureau composed of the president and vice-presidents, treasurer, secretary general and his deputies, was to meet more frequently. The president was elected for two years and the congresses had to be convoked every two years. Stephen Valot was an obvious choice for secretary general, and the first president was Georges Bourdon of France.

In the first years of its existence, before the Great Depression, the FIJ flourished. It started the publication of a bulletin. In early 1927 it issued a list of collective contracts in different countries with an index of subjects included in them, and at the end of the year it published a draft model contract drawn up on the pattern of existing collective contracts. In those years, issues of a more general character appeared among problems of a purely professional nature, such as concessionary fares on railways and ships for journalists and the setting up of schools for journalists. The FIJ also attended the League of Nations conference of press experts in Geneva dealing with better and cheaper international transfer of information that could "help calm down public opinion in different countries".

The FIJ executive committee, which met in Vienna in May 1927, noted with satisfaction that more organizations had joined the Federation, including those of Australia, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Latvia. On the other hand, a problematic matter of principle was raised by the application for membership of an association of Russian journalists – a group of Czarist refugees based in Paris, while the FIJ practically ignored the new world of revolutionary journalism being created in the Soviet Union.

The *2nd FIJ congress* was convened in Dijon (France) in November 1928. It approved positions and activities on several important issues, such as concentration in the printing industry, an international identity card for journalists, a new phenomenon of "radiophonic journalism" as well as a code of ethics and a tribunal of honour for the profession. Georges Bourdon voluntarily handed over the FIJ presidency to the head of the *Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse*, Georg Bernhard.

Various projects were developed further in 1929 by the FIJ executive committee, meeting in Prague and Antwerp. The imminent economic depression brought a new item to the agenda – unemployment. Nevertheless, the main attention was paid to issuing the international journalist's card and to establishing the tribunal of honour. The ruling of the tribunal began as follows:

1. In defence of the honour of the profession it is necessary to draw up strict rules determining the rights and duties of journalists as regards the good reputation of private and public persons.
2. As regards conflicts between journalists from different countries, the committee declares that no theory or comments are banned, but they must not be based on consciously distorted facts or on the known to be false.
3. Every journalist is responsible for the information he has personally obtained. The sending to any newspaper of false or intentionally distorted information so as to poison the international atmosphere shall be put before the tribunal. If the informer's bad intentions are proved, he will be subject to strict sanctions.

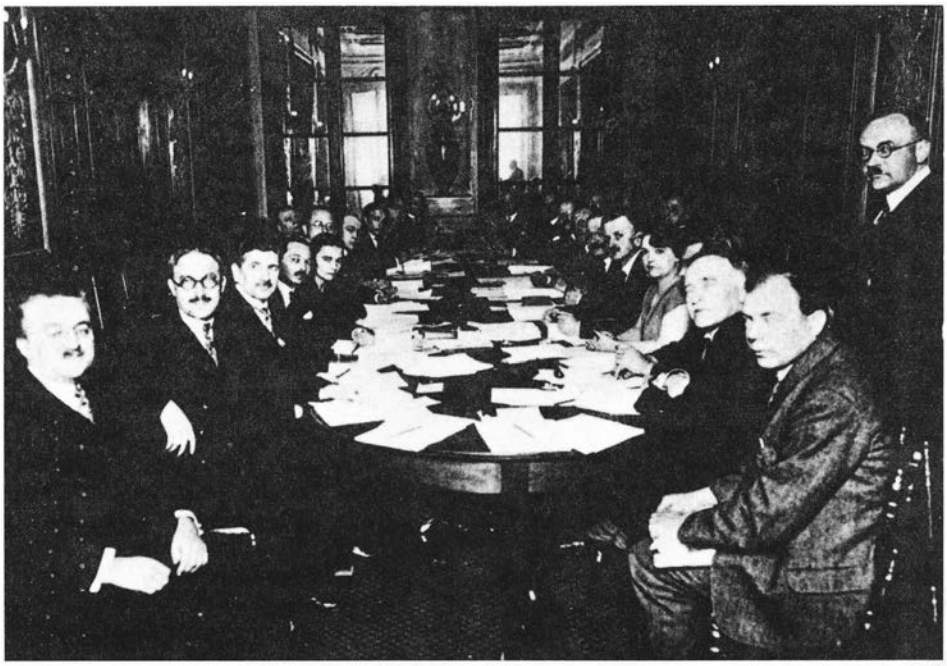
The International Journalists' Tribunal of Honour[9] was formally established by the *3rd FIJ Congress* convened in Berlin in October 1930. There H.M. Richardson, general secretary of the UK National Union of Journalists was elected as the new FIJ president, while Stephen Valot was re-elected as secretary general. Richardson was a firm supporter of an international code of as well as a court of honour to monitor it. He introduced the Tribunal at its opening ceremony in The Hague in October 1931 as FIJ's contribution to the cause of peace. His speech there ended as follows:

> I do not anticipate that this court will often be called into session, because I believe that journalists, like everyone else, are recognizing more and more readily the inadequacy of a narrow nationalism as a basis for even national well-being. More and more is being realised that the nations of the world are one, and that an injury to one nation is an injury to all. So far as the ethics of journalism are concerned, the International Federation seeks to inculcate that belief positively by endeavouring to improve the status of journalists of all countries, and negatively by bringing into public odium those journalists who are false to the ideal of their

9 The background and launching of the Tribunal in The Hague in October 1931 are displayed in Le Tribunal d'honneur international des journalistes (1932). Excerpts from this booklet are reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part I. A summary is given by Kubka&Nordenstreng (1986: 63–69).

> profession, which is the accurate recording of events and the reasoned comment upon authentic facts.

In light of later developments in the 1930s these words appear both prophetic and ironical – prophetic because the tribunal soon became paralyzed, and ironical as narrow-minded nationalism was propagated rather than discouraged by the rise of fascism in Germany and elsewhere. The proceedings of the FIJ throughout the 1930s show that the time for grand ideas and initiatives was almost over and that journalists and their organizations became hostages of escalating politics as well as declining economics.



Session of the FIJ Executive Committee in The Hague in October 1931

Nevertheless, the *4th FIJ Congress* in London in February 1933 continued to promote collective contracts, copyright and support for unemployed journalists. Moreover, the congress discussed the role of the press in the maintenance of peace, confirming the doctrine that freedom of the press had to be defended particularly at a time when it was endangered by economic, commercial and financial interests. This freedom, it was pointed out, was primarily in the conscience of the journalist, and this conscience could not maintain its power if not expressed collectively. The best guarantee was the will of professional journalists to respect the rules of honour of their profession.

An emphasis on peace and moral factors also came from the League of Nations, which convened further meetings of press experts in Copenhagen in 1932 and Madrid in 1933 in the context of the World Disarmament Conference. These meetings, actively attended by the FIJ, also highlighted the question of inaccurate news and how to combat false information. A reminder of the widespread support for this approach was the fact that the newly founded International Federation of Newspaper Publishers even proposed a convention for the immediate retracting and correction of false news.

However, all these initiatives were paralysed by the political developments across Europe, particularly in Germany, where Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933 and the Parliament was dissolved in February – with the Nazis burning the *Reichstag* building in Berlin just after the FIJ congress was held in London.

Meanwhile, the FIJ continued its activities and organizational life after the 4th congress in London, where Herman Dons of Belgium was elected as the new president. Soon after that, in May 1933 at the executive committee meeting in Budapest, it turned out that the German member union was absent after the *Reichsverband* had been taken over by the National Socialists, preventing Jewish and Marxist journalists from being members. Consequently, relations with the *Reichsverband* were discontinued, but the FIJ decided not to expel it.

The *5th FIJ Congress* was held in Brussels in October 1934. Paul Bourquin of Switzerland was elected as the new president, while Stephen Valot was re-elected once again as secretary general. The congress admitted a significant new member: the American Newspaper Guild (ANG) established one year before with some 10,000 members representing about half of journalists in the USA. This positive step was more than outweighed by the discussion concerning the application for admission of an association of German refugee journalists. The application was submitted by Georg Bernhardt, the former FIJ president and of Jewish origin. Now he appeared before the congress describing the circumstances under which he and his colleagues had been forced to leave the *Reichsverband* and emigrate. Yet his application was rejected by a majority in the congress on the grounds that the association did not have a "national character" – something that the *Reichsverband* was considered to have although connections with it had been severed because of its political orientation.

Similar problems arose with Spain, Italy and other countries where press freedom was compromised. It became clear that more and more countries had divided factions of journalists, which could not be admitted to the FIJ as nationally representative members. Disagreement mounted among the FIJ members

about how to navigate in the politically stormy waters. Still, in 1935 the executive committee meeting in Helsinki could note with satisfaction that FIJ had member organizations in all European countries except the Soviet Union and Italy. Furthermore, it had member organizations in the USA, Brazil and Australia. Discussions were underway with Indian and Japanese journalists to join the FIJ.

The *6th FIJ Congress* met in Berne (Switzerland) in September 1936. The FIJ was ten years old, but it was in no mood for celebrations. From the outset, discussion centred on the problem of press freedom. The participants were divided into two camps. One stressed its fidelity to the principle of freedom of the press as formulated in the FIJ statute. The other questioned whether it was really reasonable to uphold the hitherto valid formulation of the FIJ statute if freedom of the press was becoming a rarity throughout Europe. After long and passionate discussion the congress decided to keep the statute unchanged but to organize a poll on the problem among member unions. This was a compromise which exposed the crisis which had been fomenting inside the FIJ since 1933.

A resolution was adopted appealing to the world press to lend its support to a peace policy and thus help to avert the danger of international conflicts. Given the real situation in the world and the press at that time, the resolution was mere wishful thinking. Karl Eskelund of Denmark was elected as the new FIJ president.

After this the FIJ proceedings of the executive committee meetings in Vienna 1937 and Paris 1938 show how the organization, while continuing to debate press freedom and conditions for membership under increasingly difficult conditions, still managed to pursue such professional matters as limiting working hours and promoting deontological codes. Escalating political problems in Europe led to change the venue of the *7th FIJ Congress* from Denmark to Morocco and Strasbourg, but finally it was convened in Bordeaux in July 1939. It adopted an important document: the *Professional Code of Honour for Journalists.* Beyond this, there is little to be put on the historical record from this congress – apart from the fact that it was the last FIJ congress, with Archibald Kenyon of the UK elected as its president.

In June 1940 Hitler's troops marched unopposed into Paris. The FIJ bureau was taken over by the Nazis, the archives of the FIJ were confiscated.

In October of the same year a conference was held between the *Reichsverband* of the German Press and the fascist National Syndicate of French Journalists, which decided to "replace the International Federation of Journalists, a provocation centre, and a representative of Jewish-democratic intellectual thinking

operating from Paris to corrupt journalists all over the world". One year later, in December 1941, the so-called *Union of National Unions of Journalists* was set up in Vienna. Its head was Wilhelm Weiss, editor-in-chief of the main National Socialist newspaper, the *Volkischer Beobachter,* and chairman of the *Reichsverband* of the German Press.

At the same time, in December 1941 when World War II had been raging for only six months, a new organization was established in London called the *International Federation of Journalists of Allied or Free Countries (IFJAFC),* which

> regards itself as holding in trust the spirit and work of the Fédération Internationale des Journalistes. Its fundamental principle is to safeguard and support the freedom of the Press; its activities will be guided by this and by the resolve to see the FIJ re-established on a stronger, universal basis after the war. Meantime, in the war period, the Federation takes as its objects:
>
> 1. To study the organization and role of the Press and to prepare data likely to assist in making the Press a better instrument for social progress, both national and international, after the war.
> 2. To provide means for the pooling and exchange of information among affiliated bodies on trade union and professional questions.
> 3. To promote social and cultural facilities among affiliated journalists.
> 4. To establish contact with and provide comforts for affiliated members serving in the Allied armed forces.
> 5. To advise on matters connected with, and to organize aid for, expatriated journalists.
> 6. To aid by all means in its power the victory of the forces of freedom and democracy.

In its resolution entitled "To Journalists Who Have Not Betrayed" the IFJAFC founding congress greeted the journalists in the occupied countries who, in the face of the enemy, remained loyal to the national struggle for freedom. As regards journalists who had betrayed their own countries, and served the cause of fascism, the congress insisted that their crimes be judged by courts of justice and that they should in no case be allowed to work as journalists.

At the time of its second congress in October 1942, the IFJAFC had members in Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, "Free France", Greece, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Its president was Archibald Kenyon of the UK, its two vice-presidents Alexander Sverlov of the USSR and Tor Gjesdal of Norway, its treasurer Jiří Hronek of Czechoslovakia and its secretary L. A. Berry of the UK.

The IFJAFC was guided by "the resolve to see the FIJ re-established on a stronger, universal basis after the war". On this basis an appeal was launched by its last congress, which met in London in March 1945, to convene a world congress of journalists and to set up a new international organization with the widest possible participation of newspapermen from all over the world.

The IOJ founded 1946-47[10]

The war-time Federation of "Journalists of Allied or Free Countries", carrying the legacy of the pre-war FIJ, convened the *World Congress of Journalists* in Copenhagen on 3–9 June 1946. This congress was in many respects a manifestation of the positive post-war spirit: the Danish Parliament building in a country liberated from fascism, accommodated 165 delegates of journalists' unions from 21 countries extending from USA to USSR, from Greece to Iceland, from Australia to Peru, in the presence of high-ranking representative of the new United Nations (UN), which had been set up to carry on the work of the former League of Nations. Official support for the congress was also manifest in the fact that it was opened by the Crown Prince of Denmark.

Opening session of the founding IOJ congress in Copenhagen.

10 This passage is based on Useful Recollections, Part II (Nordenstreng&Kubka 1988: 9-28). The quotes below are taken from this book.

The official report of the Congress[11] as well as accounts in several journals of the national unions represented in Copenhagen describe the lively debate in the congress, beginning with the election of congress officers and ending with the establishment of the new organization. After Archibald Kenyon of the UK was elected by acclamation as the congress chairman, the choice of Stephen Valot – the French secretary general of the pre-war FIJ – to the congress presidium was opposed by the French delegation which proposed another representative of the French member union for this position. The compromise was that both French colleagues were elected.

Opinions differed regarding "liberty of the press", but finally the congress approved by consensus a statement of principle on this topic. Another much debated issue was whether the organization should be set up "purely on a trade union basis" as proposed by the general secretary of the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) or whether it should be based on a more individualistic approach by "continental intellectualism" advocated by the Swiss delegates. The Soviet contingent supported trade unionism while also advocating the creation of "a moral code" for the profession. The latter referred especially to the Soviet journalists' wish to work for peace – after, for example, the paper "Red Star" alone had lost 17 of its 42 war correspondents with a further 9 wounded. However controversial the issues, they were settled in an amicable atmosphere.

After the debate the chairman proposed that the *International Organization of Journalists (IOJ)* be established without delay. The proposal was adopted with 16 votes (each delegation having one vote). Switzerland abstained and Turkey had not yet arrived at the congress. The provisional constitution for the new organization was drawn up by one of the congress committees composed of delegates from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, South Africa, UK, USA and USSR. In addition to these nine countries, the founding members were delegations from Australia, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The largest member unions came from the USSR (30,000 journalists), the USA (25,000) and the UK (8,000). All member unions together represented over 80,000 journalists.[12]

11 Published in July 1946 as I.O.J. Bulletin No. I. It is reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part II.

12 The Congress resolution on Press and Peace calls upon "all the 130,000 members of the International Organisation of Journalists to do their utmost in support of the work of international

The provisional constitution was adopted unanimously. Its Article 1 determines the name[13] and places the provisional headquarters in London, where the war-time Federation also had its base. Article 2 defines the "Aims and Objects" of the IOJ as:

(a) Protection by all means of all liberty of the press and of journalism. The defence of the people's right to be informed honestly and accurately.

(b) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information.

(c) Promotion of trade unionism amongst journalists.

The election of the IOJ leadership went smoothly. The six officers elected in Copenhagen were President A. Kenyon (UK), Vice-Presidents E. Morel (France), T. Gjesdal (Norway), M. Murray (USA) and A. Sverlov (USSR) as well as Secretary Treasurer K. Bean (Australia). Of these, President Kenyon and Vice-President Sverlov held the same positions in the war-time Federation. Accordingly, with the founding of the IOJ in Copenhagen, North America (Murray) and Scandinavia (Gjesdal) assumed leading positions in the international movement of journalists, which had so far been dominated by colleagues from continental Europe and the United Kingdom.

The first IOJ Congress report also puts on the record – under the title "Dissolution of F.I.J." – that representatives of the countries which had been in the FIJ met separately under the chairmanship of its president Archibald Kenyon and resolved that "this F.I.J. ceases to function as an international organisation of journalists as from the date when the new Federation has been formed and its officers elected". Similarly the war-time IFJAFC was dissolved. Accordingly, the transfer of organizational legacy and competence was made crystal clear: the successor of the FIJ is the IOJ.

The *2nd IOJ Congress* was convened in Prague on 3–7 June 1947. The spirit continued to be good and the world of journalism still united, although international politics was already moving towards the Cold War.[14] The ceremonial part

understanding and co-operation entrusted to the United Nations". The origin of this figure is shrouded in mystery, while the sum total of membership figures given by the national affiliates represented in Copenhagen is slightly over 80,000 (Nordenstreng&Kubka 1988: 15).

13 "Organisation" spelled with s instead of z which was consistent with the British spelling convention of the time.

14 Winston Churchill had already coined the term "Iron Curtain" in his speech in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, but 1947 was the year when Americans began to take institutional steps:

of the congress followed the grand style established in Copenhagen. The sessions took place in the Slovakian Hall in the centre of Prague, decorated with the f1ags of 30 countries and a special congress emblem. The congress was under the patronage of the President of the Republic, Dr. Edward Beneš, who hosted a reception in Prague Castle. The opening session was addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jan Masaryk, and a message was also received from the Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald, who, besides welcoming the guests, expressed the wish that they

> take a good look round our country which according to certain opinions is situated behind some mythical "iron curtain". We trust that in describing their impressions of Czechoslovakia they will be faithful to the first and most dignified task of journalists, namely, to tell the truth and assist towards the victory of truth.

Amplifying this point, the Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Jiří Hronek asked the delegates:

> We here in Czechoslovakia are convinced that it is the function of the Press to unite, and not to divide the nations. We know of course that it is not always so, and that in times of political tension the press often obscures the situation, instead of clarifying it and encouraging a state of public opinion conducive to the lessening of international tension. I believe that one of the tasks of this Conference ought to be create in the International Organization of Journalists a powerful instrument of world peace, a powerful defence for peace, for good neighbourliness among the nations, and an instrument of truth.

The IOJ President, Archibald Kenyon, echoed these welcoming addresses:

> The inspiration of our movement is service through friendship. In that spirit we meet in Prague, in that spirit we esteem and reciprocate the great goodwill and kindness that are being shown to us by the people, the President, the Government, and the Press of Czechoslovakia.

Kenyon also pointed out the special relationship which had been developing between IOJ and the United Nations and, referring to the UN resolution which authorized the convocation of a Conference on Freedom of Information, he asked:

> If there is not freedom of information how can we know the facts? If we do not know the facts, how can we form right conclusions? If we do not

The Marshall Plan was directed to Western economies to shield them against Soviet influence and the CIA was established.

> form right conclusions, how can we act wisely and justly? We may not come to the right conclusion or act wisely if we have full information, but without knowledge we are almost certain to go wrong.

Cordial greetings to the congress from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie, were conveyed by his special representative, Tor Gjesdal — the same Norwegian who had been elected as one of the IOJ Vice-Presidents at the Copenhagen congress. He reported that the IOJ had been officially granted high consultative status on the UN Economic and Social Council ECOSOC. He also emphasized that the danger of having the international atmosphere poisoned by insufficient or unskilled representation of facts, or by misrepresentation, should be avoided. In his view the organization of journalists of the five continents could do much to improve the situation.

The Prague congress was attended by 208 delegates and guests from 28 countries. In addition to those 21 countries which were present in Copenhagen, there were now also representatives from Austria, Bulgaria, Egypt, Hungary, Iran, Palestine, the Philippines, Romania, Spain (the exiled group as a guest) and Venezuela. On the other hand, of those attending in Copenhagen, New Zealand, Peru and Turkey were absent from Prague. The UN was represented by Gjesdal and UNESCO's observer was the head of department for free flow of information, René Maheu – the Frenchman who later became its Director-General.

All those organizations attending were admitted as members, with the exception of Egypt and Iran. The applications of these two were found problematic because the unions in question included not only journalists but also proprietors, and therefore the matter was referred to the Executive Council. On this occasion the exiled group of Spanish journalists was accepted as full member – by a majority vote after a "stormy debate" which escalated into a Soviet-American controversy.

Even more heated was the debate on the future headquarters of the IOJ.[15] In Copenhagen it was decided that London would be only the provisional base of the IOJ; now Prague offered to host the headquarters. The British, supported es-

15 This time we can follow the proceedings in greater detail in the official report which contains ten printed pages of description on the discussions, published by the new headquarters in Prague in 1947. But beyond that there is as almost verbatim record of most discussions in the daily congress journal issued by the local organizing committee as a printed newspaper in three languages (English, French and Russian, all side-by-side) with photographs and even cartoons. The debates mentioned here are summarized in Nordenstreng&Kubka (1988: 19-22).

pecially by the Americans, wanted London to continue as the base, while most others, including Scandinavian and Central European members, voted for Prague – either as a permanent base or as the beginning of a rotation. Hence the headquarters were moved to Prague at least until the next congress.

The debate on the headquarters followed after unanimous adoption of the constitution.[16] There it is stipulated that the IOJ headquarters "shall be situated in such place as Congress shall determine". It was inevitable then that the question of headquarters would surface as soon as the constitution was adopted.

The Article on "Aims and Objects" is essentially the same as already formulated in Copenhagen, but the new wording was more elaborate (changes after Copenhagen in italics):

a) Protection by all means of the liberty of the press and of journalist. The defence of the people's right to be informed *freely, fully,* honestly and accurately.

b) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information.

c) The promotion of trade unionism among journalists, *the protection of their professional rights and interests, and the improvement of their economic status.*

Membership conditions remained the same as laid down in Copenhagen. Thus only one organization from each country was eligible to affiliate, but in the event of more than one organization claiming to represent the journalists of a country, the Executive Council was given the power to decide which organization, if any, should be admitted — subject to the decision of the following congress.

The constitution determined that each delegation at the congress, the supreme authority of IOJ, should have one vote only. This was after voting down an American proposal, first also supported by the Soviets, who, however reversed their position in the debate, that each congress delegation should have one vote for every 1,000 members to a maximum of 10 votes. The number of members in the American Newspaper Guild was now 17,000, where as in Copenhagen it was reported to be as many as 24,500. The same downward trend was true of membership in the Soviet Union of Journalists: in Copenhagen a figure of 30,000 was reported, but now it was explained that several thousand

16 The name of the organization in the constitution was now spelled with z, which has been the case ever since.

journalists in fact working on military newspapers which had since been discontinued, and the actual membership figure given was 14,000. Obviously it was in the interest of unions with a large membership to report the lowest possible figure for purposes of determining the membership dues. With these lower figures the total membership of the IOJ at the time of the Prague Congress was reportedly 58,600.

Later on, the drafting committee (UK, USA, USSR, France, Norway, Austria and Yugoslavia) proposed a draft resolution on freedom of the press identical to the wording of the Copenhagen statement, except for the final paragraph which was replaced by a new formulation:

> The peoples of the world are weary of war, ardently desirous of peace. As men and women of good will they seek to know and to understand each other so that conflict shall not arise among them. It is the basic right of the people everywhere to be informed, freely, honestly, accurately, and fully. It is from this right to the people that freedom of the press is born. The IOJ on behalf of its members and on behalf of the people they serve, declares:

1. There must be free access to news and information for all journalists.
2. There must be full freedom to publish news, information and opinion without restraint beyond the essential demand of decency, honesty and integrity.
3. Pending an international convention establishing universally a free flow of news and information, all nations should be urged to enter into bi-lateral or multi-lateral treaties to this end.

The congress adopted this resolution unanimously — another proof that it was indeed a landmark statement. The last paragraph of the Copenhagen statement, calling for a mechanism to monitor press freedom in individual countries, was now incorporated in the constitution, where it appears under the paragraph “Disputes”:

> Any affiliated organization shall be entitled to lay a complaint against any other organization on the ground of unconstitutional conduct. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to investigate any such complaint and to submit to all affiliated organizations a precise of the complaint, the defence together with its findings and such recommendations as it may consider necessary. The Executive Council’s a precise findings and recommendations shall be submitted to the next Congress which shall

> have the power to suspend, censure or expel the national organization against which complaint was made.

Other resolutions were likewise unanimously adopted, and the elections of officers were also unanimous. Archibald Kenyon (UK) was re-elected as President, and Milton M. Murray (USA), Pavel Yudin (USSR), Eugen Morel (France), and Gunnar Nielsen (Denmark) were elected Vice-Presidents. JiříHronek (Czechoslovakia) was elected to the combined office of the Secretary General and Treasurer.

After four days and one night of intensive proceedings, the congress came to a close at 5 a.m. on 7 June. The last point, as put in the official report:

> By acclamation an invitation of Mr.Stijns (Belgium) was accepted that the next congress should be held in Brussels.

The founding of the IOJ was completed in Prague in 1947, with a solid constitution and a fairly extensive membership as well as an established status of a non-governmental organization (NGO) at the UN and UNESCO. The international movement of journalists was firmly organized and united.

The world divided from 1948 to the 1960s[17]

After the IOJ Congress in Prague begins a Cold-War-dominated period of successive developments which in *Useful Recollections, Part II* are divided to four phases: (1) Crisis 1948-49, (2) Results of the Cold War 1950-53, (3) Striving for Unity 1954-60, (4) Emancipation of the Third World 1961-66. This period saw the birth of the *International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)* as a Western "opposing party" to the IOJ and the emergence of several regional federations in the developing world. It was a period of contradictions within the movement with a rich history not only around the IOJ and IFJ but also other organizations. Here we shall not trace them in detail but only point out the most significant developments.

Crisis 1948-49

Soon after the Prague congress some British and American press reports accused the IOJ of "falling under Russian influence", with the headquarters "taken over by communists" and its Secretary General named as a hard-line puppet of

17 This passage is based on Useful Recollections, Part II (Nordenstreng&Kubka 1988: 29-92).

Moscow.[18] Yet Hronek was not a communist but a progressive patriot — one of those who due to their Jewish origin had fled the fascists and gone into exile in London and then returned to participate in the national democratic reconstruction. Moreover, the ANG President Milton Murray proposed that the Americans should disaffiliate from the IOJ. His proposal was defeated and consequently he resigned. Then Harry Martin was elected as ANG President and assumed the American place in the IOJ leadership.

Martin represented the IOJ at the ECOSOC Sub-Commission of Freedom of Information and of the Press, which met in the temporary UN premises at Lake Success, New York in early 1948. This important session prepared articles for the draft international declaration on human rights and issued a statement of principle on the rights, obligations and practices to be included in the concept of freedom of information. Even more vital was the UN Conference on Freedom of Information held in Geneva in March-April 1948. Since the IOJ was granted the highest status of an NGO at the Conference, the Executive Committee in a meeting in Brussels on the eve of the UN conference prepared a set of resolutions to be taken to Geneva by a delegation composed of the President, the Secretary General and both the American and the Soviet Vice-Presidents.

The UN conference in Geneva produced a mixed bag of resolutions, the most significant of these being the draft Article 19 for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1948. The contribution of the IOJ, sealed by unanimous resolutions, was certainly positive in this respect. What definitely was not positive was a public attack by Vice-President Martin against Secretary General Hronek while the two attended the UN conference. Martin publicized a letter he had written to President Kenyon after the Brussels Executive, suggesting that the headquarters be moved from Prague to the West and claiming that Hronek was misusing IOJ funds for communist propaganda. Thus the new ANG President also turned against the IOJ Secretary

18 These reports should be seen within the context of the political developments at the time: the German zones of occupation were divided into West Germany (1948) and the German Democratic Republic (1949), the West European Union was founded in 1948, the state of Israel was established in 1948 followed by a war with the Arabs, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO was established in 1949, while the Soviet Union and the new people's democracies created the Council of Mutual Economic Aid CMEA in 1949; the Soviet-led defence organization, the Warsaw Pact, was established only later in 1955 after West Germany joined NATO. But in 1947 the Soviets had already set up the Information Bureau of Communist and Working-Class Parties COMINFORM in Warsaw.

General and the Czechoslovak headquarters.[19] Hronek replied immediately in a letter which was also made public.

No doubt this clash served the interest of those aiming at confrontation. The forces of confrontation advanced on several fronts, from international security with the founding of NATO to the international trade union movement, which was divided, both nationally and internationally, into a left-wing and mostly pro-Soviet fraction on the one hand, and to a right-wing and pro-Western fraction on the other. These developments were naturally reflected within the IOJ. For example in France, Vice-President Morin who represented the right-wing "Force Ouvrière" withdrew and his place was taken by firm leftist forces, including Jean-Maurice Hermann, who later became the IOJ President.

The situation escalated after the IOJ Executive Committee meetings in Budapest in November 1948 and in Prague in September 1949, leading to the withdrawal from IOJ membership of the British NUJ, the American ANG and several other Western member unions, including the Scandinavians. In February 1949 President Kenyon criticized Secretary General Hronek's editorial in the IOJ Bulletin where the British press was told to "call upon their readers to hate other nations": "I must protest against Cominform propaganda of this character being circulated through the machinery and at the expense of the IOJ!" In October 1949 President Kenyon resigned.

The process of disintegration was obviously prompted by the Marshall Plan administration in Paris, for which former ANG President Martin was now working. Moreover, as was later revealed by former CIA officer Philip Agee: "In addition to propaganda against IOJ and operations to deny Western capitals for IOJ meetings, the Agency promoted the founding of an alternative international society of journalists from the free world."[20]

A candidate for such an alternative was an anti-IOJ organization called the "International Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe and Baltic and Balkan Countries". It was established in late 1948 in Paris under the leadership of some Polish exiled journalists who were already pursuing sectarian

19 It should be recalled that parallel to these events in early 1948 Czechoslovakia was drawn into a constitutional crisis which soon led to a merger of working-class parties and political domination of pro-Soviet communists. Later in the year the same trend followed in Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria. These political changes also affected national journalist unions, which were accused in the West of being involved in "purges".

20 See Nordenstreng&Kubka (1988: 35-40). The role of the CIA in this process was disclosed by several American publications in the 1970s.

activities in London during the war-time Federation. However, its approach was evidently too limited to be considered instrumental in a long-term ideological crusade, and it never became a notable counterforce to the IOJ. Nonetheless it played a role as a recruiting base for the US Cold War stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. And as late as 1952 it was recognized by the ECOSOC Sub-Commission on the Freedom of Information and Press — at a time when the Cold War had led to a situation in which the IOJ was deprived of its relationship with the UN.

Results of the Cold War 1950-53

As a consequence of the development in the late 1940s, the IOJ became an organization whose core membership was made up of national journalist unions in the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including the recently established German Democratic Republic (GDR), and of such smaller journalist associations in the Western world which had a "progressive and democratic" orientation. In addition, the IOJ increasingly acquired members from the developing countries, including China.[21]

The *3rd IOJ Congress* was not convened in Brussels as decided in Prague but in Helsinki in September 1950, at the invitation of a relatively small Finnish association of left-wing socialist and communist journalists (YLL). The congress was attended by 62 delegates from 30 countries, including the UK, the USA and the Scandinavian countries – not from the main national unions but from smaller progressive associations.

The constitution of the IOJ was modified to accommodate different membership categories: (a) national unions, (b) national IOJ groups, and (c) individual members. Accordingly, the IOJ abandoned its former principle of mandatory national representativeness and welcomed all likeminded groups and even individuals to join. Otherwise the Statute, as it was now called, was retained largely in its original form except that the Article on Aims and Tasks was made more specific about the kind of principles and activities to be pursued. The congress elected Jean-Maurice Herman of France as the new President with Vice Presidents coming from the USSR, China, Poland, Finland and West Africa.

21 Again the context of the time should be recalled, including events such as the Korean war (1950-53), the CIA operations against Mossadegh in Iran (1951-53) and the anti-communist campaigns especially in the USA (MacCarthyism). In the Soviet Union and its East European allies these were years of hardline communism until Stalin died in 1953.

Czechoslovakia was confirmed as the site of the headquarters and Hronek was re-elected as Secretary General.

On this basis, with a total membership of about 50,000 journalists, the IOJ continued with its new profile to expand both geographically and professionally, emphasizing peace and development instead of trade unionism. In 1953 it started to publish a periodical magazine *Democratic Journalist* in English, French and Russian.

Meanwhile, the *IFJ was established* in Brussels in May 1952 by a "World Congress of Journalists" attended by 41 delegates of journalist unions from 14 countries.[22] Brussels was chosen as its headquarters and Clement J. Bundock of the UK was elected as the first President. The IFJ represented the majority of national unions of journalists in Western Europe, North America and Australia – altogether over 40,000. However, in the Cold War conditions it inevitably pursued a Western ideological position in support of confrontation rather than cooperation. The same was true of the IOJ, which by its very existence represented the Eastern ideological position.

In terms of numbers the IOJ was bigger than the IFJ, both regarding individual journalists represented through national affiliates and by counting how many countries were represented. Yet the two were typically seen as political parallels on different sides of the Cold War divide. Politically their profiles were quite different – the IFJ with its professional trade union orientation resembling the pre-war FIJ. However, organizationally the IOJ continued to occupy the legal territory of the FIJ, while the IFJ was founded on a void facilitated by the Western side of a Cold War rivalry.

Striving for Unity 1954-60

The peak of the Cold War was passed in 1954 when the Foreign Ministers of the USA, UK, France and USSR began to prepare in Geneva a summit between the leaders of "The Big Four" (Eisenhower, Eden, Faure and Bulganin). The summit took place in July 1955 expedited by the policy of peaceful coexistence advocated by the new Soviet leader, Nikita Khruschev. The "spirit of Geneva" began to replace the Cold War climate in international relations among

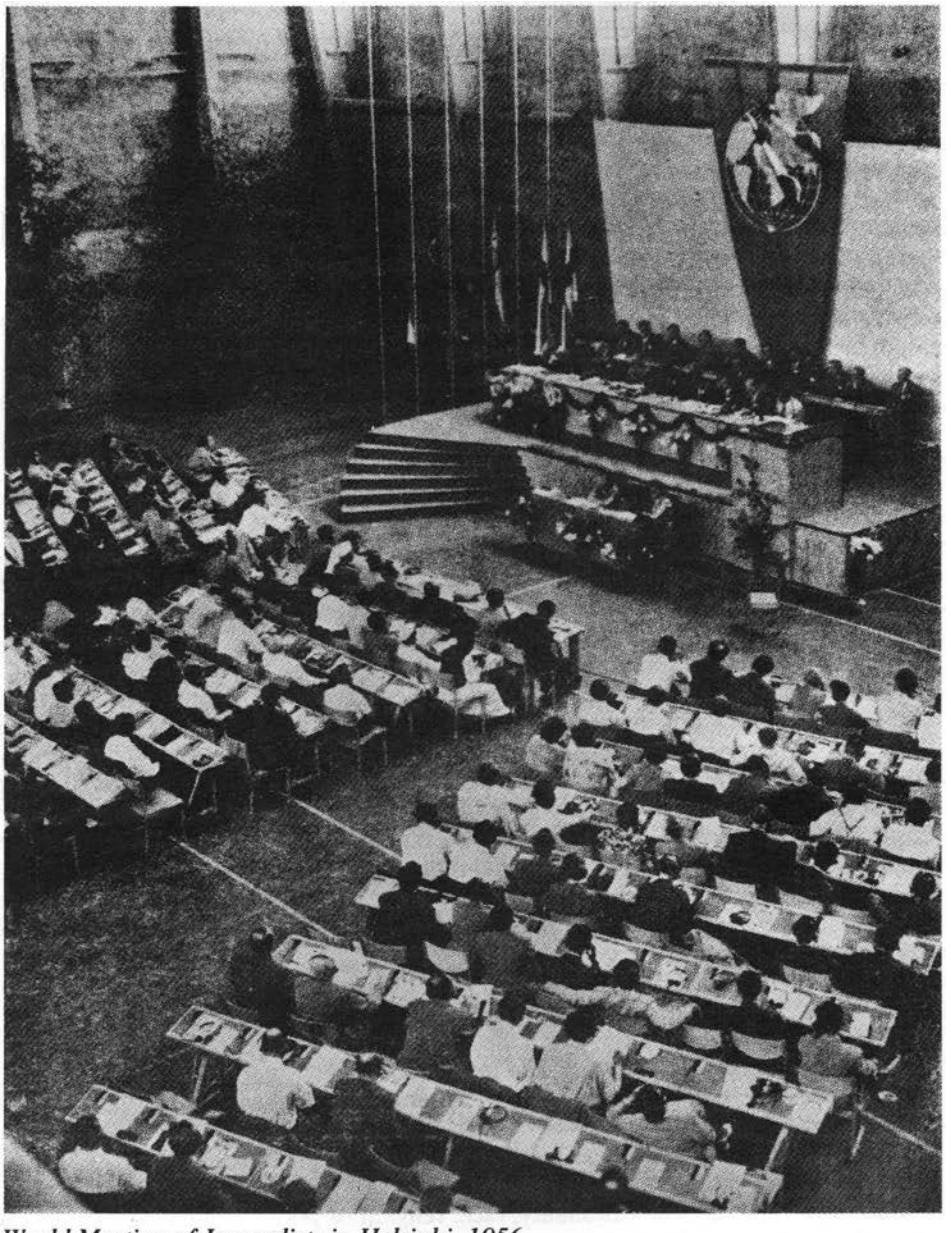
22 The founding congress was preceded by a preparatory conference in Paris in October 1951, attended by delegates from the UK, USA, France, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands. Political and material support was rendered by the CIA through clandestine channels, as was customary in organizations around the international trade union movement (Nordenstreng&Kubka 1988: 49-50).

journalists, too, who wanted to see the same "thaw" to foster their own professional movement, which had been beset by political conflicts since the late 1940s. Accordingly, a regional "World Congress of Journalists" convened in Sao Paulo (Brazil) in November 1954, called on the two international organizations of journalists — the IOJ and the IFJ — to meet for the purpose of creating a single organization which would bring together journalists of the whole world.

The IOJ Executive Committee in Budapest in October 1954 endorsed the steps taken by the Secretariat with a view to starting talks on collaboration with the IFJ, which had not responded to earlier gestures on the part of the IOJ, notably greetings sent to the 2nd IFJ congress in Bordeaux in 1954. The Executive congratulated the journalists of Latin America and the Federation of the Italian Press who, on their own initiative, had started work to establish cooperation between the two international organizations. The Executive stressed the efforts to achieve the broadest possible cooperation among journalists of all countries on the basis of their common professional interests and regardless of political differences.

Moreover, a resolution was approved expressing gratification that among journalists of various countries "a wish was expressed to hold an international meeting of journalists, which would consider mutual aid to journalists so that they can better exercise their professional duties in obtaining more complete and objective information about the life of different nations, thus promoting peaceful coexistence among countries with different political systems and strengthening cultural and economic relations among countries". The Executive also expressed its support for those outstanding journalists who had come together and formed a committee for the implementation of the idea. Hence the IOJ made a strategic move against a Cold War confrontation by supporting the idea of a "World Meeting of Journalists" – not to be formally hosted by the IOJ but to be convened as an independent platform with the organization's political and material support.

The *World Meeting of Journalists* took place on 10-15 June 1956, in Otaniemi, near Helsinki. Attended by 259 journalists from 44 countries, it was the largest and most representative gathering in the history of journalism so far. At this meeting, the voices of journalists from the countries of Latin America, Asia and the Arab world were particularly strong — stronger than in the IOJ congresses held so far. Moreover, among the participants were representatives of journalists' unions from India, Yugoslavia, Italy, Indonesia and other countries which were not members of either of the two existing international organizations.



World Meeting of Journalists in Helsinki, 1956

The proceedings of the Meeting were published by the Committee for the Cooperation of Journalists in the form of a booklet.[23] The introduction to this publication states that the Meeting "exceeded all expectations. We are convinced

23 Extensive excerpts from this publication are reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part II.

that when the history of world journalism comes to be written, this International Meeting of Journalists will be recognised as a great and shining event." The Meeting confirmed in an impressive manner the position that it is possible to achieve agreement among all journalists — as far as their professional problems are concerned and through a joint approach — to strengthen the status of journalists in society and to improve their material conditions, educational level, etc.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the Meeting was not supported by the IFJ; on the contrary, its member unions were urged not to attend. Among the obedient followers of these instructions was the Finnish Union of Journalists (SSL), which thus relinquished the role of local host to a smaller leftist union of journalists (YLL) – the same that hosted the 3rd IOJ Congress in Helsinki. The IFJ attitude did not, however, drastically limit the participation even of Western journalists, as most West European countries, USA, Canada, Israel, Australia and Japan were indeed represented. It is also noteworthy that the delegations from the Federal Republic of Germany and from France, for example, were not only numerous but very representative and that among the French participants was Jean Schwoebelof *Le Monde* — the man who 20 years later, during period of détente, created a club of European journalists.

The delegations from the developing countries were particularly impressive; the most outstanding example being the Brazilian delegation, which consisted of 38 journalists representing the entire country both geographical1y and politically. The same was true of the 18-man delegation from India; one of them was D.R. Mankekar who 20 years later became Chairman of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. Notable names among the Latin American participants were Genaro Carnero Checa of Peru (whose efforts 20 years later led to the creation of FELAP) and Luis Suarez of Mexico (who later succeeded Checa as Secretary General of FELAP). As to the IOJ, there were participants from all of its member unions — from Albania to the USSR. The President of the IOJ, Jean-Maurice Hermann, was part of the French delegation.

The IOJ President conveyed fraternal greetings from one of the existing international organizations, which had supported the initiative to meet "without wishing at any time to patronise or control the development of this gathering". He regretted that the IFJ was averse to cooperating on an equal footing but said that "we should nevertheless be glad to see the beginning of friendly cooperation between our organizations". Hermann made the headlines with his comprehensive address by pointing out that journalists selling their minds are worse than

prostitutes selling their bodies. Moreover, the IOJ President offered to dismantle his organization in the interests of unity.

The Brazilians proposed the setting up of a permanent body, but the Italians and especially the Yugoslavs felt that any new committee would be another "bloc organization" — a kind of third international. Consensus was achieved on the basis of an Indian thesis that what was at issue was not an organization but a movement — as Nehru had not proposed a third bloc but a movement aimed at the abolition of blocs, which was a reference to the Non-Aligned Movement launched in Bandung. Consequently, the Initiating Committee was transformed in Helsinki into the *Committee for the Cooperation of Journalists*, composed of 30 members from over 20 countries on all continents— from Australia to Chile, from the Gold Coast to Israel.

All in all, the Meeting in Helsinki must be regarded as an outstanding landmark in the history of the international movement of journalists. It is true that most of the questions raised and recommendations made were not original, but had already been placed on the agenda either at the UN, UNESCO or in non-governmental professional bodies such as the IOJ (ever since Copenhagen 1946) or even the pre-war League of Nations, FIJ and IUPA (ever since Antwerp 1894). But it is nevertheless remarkable that a voluntary initiative by the profession itself brought about such a representative and comprehensive review of various issues after several years of international tension. In today's perspective, Helsinki 1956 can be seen as a very promising new beginning with a rich professional substance — something that 58 years later still remains topical.

In a global analysis, we can say that the road towards détente and a new information order was opened up at this time — in the spirit of Geneva and Bandung. The 2nd *World Meeting of Journalists* was held on 18-22 October 1960, in Baden near Vienna. It was attended by 260 journalists from 62 countries, and thus, in numerical terms, it became another landmark record in the history of journalism.Of the 260 colleagues who gathered together at the Meeting in Baden, 118 were from Europe, 67 from Asia, 15 from Africa, 69 from the Americas and Australia, including presidents and other leading officers of 43 national associations and one international (IOJ). The Meeting was opened by the Secretary General of the Brazilian Federation of Journalists, and among the chairpersons and speakers were colleagues from all parts of the world — from Bolivia to India, from Costa Rica to Japan, from Mali to Mongolia, from South Africa to North Korea, from China to the UK. However, there were no representatives of the IFJ,

although several of its member unions were present, thus showing that the drive for unity was proceeding.

In the various plenary sessions and in three commissions those present discussed the three main items on the agenda: (1) How to facilitate the exercise of the profession; (2) Problems of the press and radio in underdeveloped countries; and (3) Ethics of the profession: rights and obligations, the role of the journalists in forming public opinion and in the evolution of international relations, obligations arising out of the UN Charter. As was the case with the first World Meeting, a lot of professional substance was exposed, but in contrast to the Helsinki Meeting, the proceedings in Baden seem to have taken a course which could easily be called "political". This was inevitable given the presence of several colleagues, such as the Algerians, who were involved in a liberation struggle of their respective countries. Symptomatic in this respect was the point made by a Cuban delegate who stated that it was only since January 1959 that there had been real journalists in his country.

The 2nd World Meeting in 1960 adopted several resolutions[24] but it was essentially a repetition — and reconfirmation — of the first one held four years earlier. The only notable differences were, firstly, that more attention was now paid to the developing countries, and secondly, that the question of achieving organizational unity was no longer at the forefront. The continuous non-response by the IFJ and the Western politics against unity at UNESCO had obviously taught a lesson to those who gathered in Baden; the optimistic visions entertained in Helsinki had proved to be largely illusions and were gone. Consequently, the IOJ remained the only viable organizational basis for worldwide cooperation, alongwith the International Committee for the Cooperation of Journalists, which continued to exist, albeit with a rather pragmatic and short-term mandate.

The role of the IFJ throughout the pursuit of unity was something that could be characterized as stubborn separatism. Accordingly, a world congress of journalists scheduled for 1956 in Montevideo did not achieve its objectives after the IFJ and its US affiliate ANG launched a campaign against this initiative on the part of Latin American journalists. Likewise, the IFJ declined an invitation to build bridges through Italy: the National Federation of the Italian Press (FNSI) proposed that its congresses in Palermo in 1954 and in Trieste in 1956 be used as neutral ground to bring the IFJ and the IOJ together through their leading representatives, but on both occasions the invitation was turned down by the IFJ.

24 The resolutions adopted by the Meeting are reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part II.

On the other hand, the IFJ did well in professional trade union affairs among its Western members.

Emancipation of the Third World 1961-66

This was a stage when the effort towards unity as the leading theme in the movement was replaced by an increasing mobilization of national and regional associations of journalists in the developing continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, 3rd *World Meeting of Journalists* was organized in September-October 1963, this time as a trip aboard a ship cruising in the Mediterranean from Algiers to Beirut with several landfalls enroute. Attended by 260 journalists from 69 countries the Meeting held discussions and met among others President Nasser of Egypt and Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus.[25]

The main *development in Africa* was the *1st Pan-African Conference of Journalists* convened by the Committee for Cooperation of African Journalists in Bamako (Mali) in May 1961. It was attended by journalists from 10 countries of North and West Africa, while colleagues from several countries of East and Southern Africa wished to attend but could were prevented by financial or political obstacles. The IOJ attended as an observer, but the IFJ declined the invitation. The conference adopted several resolutions, including one the founding of a Pan-African Union of Journalists.[26] The *2nd Pan-African Conference of Journalists* took place in Accra (Ghana) in November 1963. It was opened by the President of the Republic of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, who on this occasion delivered an historical speech.[27]

The *developments in Latin America* were related to a prolonged struggle over regional federations in the western hemisphere. Since in the 1940s there had been initiatives inspired mainly by the American newspaper publishers to create an Inter-American Press Association. IAPA was established in 1950 under American control, leaving the professional journalists to find their own organizational solutions. One of these initiatives was the regional World Conference in Sao Paulo in 1954 calling for unity, but it did not survive under the shadow of IAPA and its instruments such as the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen (FIOPP) set up in 1960 to cater for the professional cooperation interests in the region. However, it disintegrated when ANG Treasurer was exposed as the

25 The final communique of the Meeting is reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part II.

26 The first bulletin of the Union (in French) is reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part II.

27 Nkrumah's speech is reproduced as an annex in Useful Recollections, Part II.

channel of CIA financing to the Latin American programme.[28] In 1962 a Committee for Information and Cooperation of Latin American Journalists was established in Havana (Cuba), leading in the 1970 to the founding of the Federation of Latin American Journalists (FELAP). The latter was actively supported by the IOJ. The IFJ was not actively involved in the region at the time.

Regarding *Afro-Asian developments*, a regional conference of journalists was organized in Djakarta in April 1963. This was a sequel to an initiative originating in the 1955 Bandung conference and which was manifest in a special resolution signed by the Asian participants at the World Meeting in Helsinki in 1956. With further encouragement from the 2nd World Meeting in Baden in 1960, the Chinese journalists in particular were active in developing a "militant friendship" among Afro-Asian journalists, leading to the Djakarta conference, at which 48 countries were represented and which "held high the banner of the Bandung spirit", as put by the Vice-President of the All China Journalists' Association, and IOJ Vice-President Chin Chung-hua in an article for *The Democratic Journalist.* This article on the conference reports that the conference adopted "a programme for common struggle by Asian and African journalists — The Djakarta Declaration, and 30 resolutions on the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and other matters".

The article was never published; it is to be found only as a manuscript among the correspondence between IOJ and the Chinese Association. This shows that a rapid deterioration in relations between the IOJ and its Chinese member union began in January 1963 — no doubt as a reflection of the overall political clash between China and the Soviet Union. The trouble surfaced first at the IOJ Presidium in Djakarta in February 1963, and the complications led to the IOJ's absence from the Afro-Asian conference. This was the beginning to a rift which later led to the establishment of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association (AAJA) as a chapter in the history of Mao's "cultural revolution". For example, in 1966 AAJA issued resolutions under titles such as "China's unprecedented development of nuclear weapons demonstrates resourcefulness of Mao Tse-tung's thought" and "AAJA condemning criminal activities of Soviet revisionists to split Afro-Asian writers' movement".[29]

28 See Nordenstreng&Kubka (1988: 79-80).

29 The All China Journalists' Association still attended the IOJ Executive Committee meeting in Santiago de Chile in September 1965, mounting a vehement attack on both the IOJ leadership and "the Khruschev revisionists' general line of 'peaceful coexistence'". After this session the contacts between the IOJ and its Chinese member union practically ceased.

The First Conference of Arab Journalists was held in February 1965 in Kuwait and attended by 135 delegates from journalist organizations from the 13 Arab countries. The IOJ attended as an observer. This highly representative meeting established the Arab Federation of Journalists.

At this time, IOJ-affiliated schools for journalists from developing countries were started in Berlin by the GDR Union of Journalists, in Budapest by the Association of Hungarian Journalists and in Roztez near Prague by the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists. The Berlin school was founded under the name "College of Solidarity" for the purpose of making a positive contribution to immediate and short-term education of young journalists of countries liberated from colonialism and engaged in the national liberation movement. Later the Roztez school, operated with the assistance of the Czechoslovak news agency CTK, was closed and another school opened in Prague. Also the Bulgarian Union of Journalists established an IOJ-affiliated school. Hundreds of young journalists from Africa and Asia were trained in these institutions.

The years 1963-65 witnessed a breakthrough in IOJ assistance to the training of journalists — in close connection with developments in Africa. In addition to such an institutionalization of professional activities within the IOJ, overall political contact was maintained with leading figures of the Third World also after the spectacular appointments during the Mediterranean cruise. For example, in March 1964 IOJ Secretary Yefremov conducted an interview with the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who stated: "The world journalist community is very powerful and your International Organization can do a lot for the benefit of mankind. It is a noble deed to draw the attention of the mass media to the needs and requirements of the developing countries."

These activities in the Third World attracted more and more members to the IOJ so that by the *6th IOJ Congress* in Berlin in October 1966 its membership base reached 140,000 journalists in 108 countries. The Congress itself was attended by 268 journalists and 14 representatives of international organizations from 68 countries on all continents.

The IFJ, for its part, persevered throughout the 1960s with its separatist policy with regard to the IOJ and the World Meetings. At the same time it endeavoured to gain ground in the Third World through its own collaborators in several African, Asian and Latin American countries. An "expansion programme" led to missions to Asia and Africa, and in 1964-1967 to several three-week seminars in Ibadan (Nigeria), Lagos (Nigeria), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Kinshasa (Zaire), Monrovia (Liberia) and Accra (Ghana). The fruits of the programme were apparent at

the *7th IFJ Congress* in Vichy in 1964, attended by 125 delegates and observers from as many as 32 countries. At this time the IFJ membership exceeded 45,000, reaching 55,000 by the 8th Congress in 1966.

Consequently, in terms of numbers the IFJ was half of the size of the IOJ. But it was evident that both organizations were viable within their own spheres and able to grow especially in the Third World. Obviously they needed money for all the activities – especially the IOJ for the permanent schools, publications and a large secretariat in Prague. Membership fees covered only a fraction of what was needed and both organizations counted on assistance by affluent member unions. The IFJ had a problem with its American member ANG, which at one stage was used as a channel for CIA financing.[30] The IOJ, for its part, was assisted by the resourceful Soviet Union of Journalists and, despite Western suspicions about this "Moscow financing", there is no proof of it having been any more dubious than the regular financing of professional associations in the socialist countries.

Obviously there was a rivalry between the IOJ and the IFJ regarding the Third World and in the 1960s the IOJ was making impressive headway on as the Soviet-led socialist countries were largely taken as a "natural ally" of the developing countries. On the other hand, it is also obvious that not all IFJ members warmed to the idea of an ideological race with the IOJ in the developing countries. Thus it would be unfair to label the whole of the Federation as an arm of the CIA. In point of fact, the 1967 revelations were a big surprise to most of the IFJ constituency, including the rank-and-file members of ANG, which naturally brought the programme to a halt.

Regarding the IOJ Congress in Berlin in 1966, the elections reflected as usual both continuity and expansion. Jean-Maurice Hermann was re-elected as President, while Jiří Kubka of Czechoslovakia was elected as new Secretary General. The office of the Treasurer was assigned to the Hungarian member union known for its successful business activities. Of the Vice-Presidents elected at the previous congress in Budapest, those from Mali, Poland, Finland, Mexico, the United Arab Republic, Cuba and the USSR were retained (with partly new names), while Mongolia, North Korea and South Vietnam from Asia replaced China and Indonesia. In addition, Chile was made Vice-President, in the person of the Secretary of the Commission for Information and Cooperation among Journalists of Latin America. There was likewise a new Vice-President from Guinea, in the person

30 The reports of The Washington Post and The New York Times of February 1967 as well as Carl Bernstein's article in the Rolling Stone magazine of October 1977 are quoted in Nordenstreng&Kubka (1988: 87-88).

of the President of the Pan-African Union of Journalists. Finally, a representative of the host country, GDR, was elected Vice-President.

As shown by the composition in the new Presidium, the IOJ was now characterized by a growing preoccupation with the developing countries – even integration with some regional associations. This also meant that the debates and resolutions became increasingly political. Thus as many as two thirds of the text of the resolutions adopted in Berlin concerned matters of a general political nature.

The Congress in Berlin in 1966 can be seen as a historical point where the IOJ consolidated itself as the leading international organization of working journalists, based on its three main constituencies: national unions in the socialist countries and in the Third World as well as progressive groups and individuals in the so-called West. The only notable exception to the mainly positive development was the case of China: the All China Journalists' Association withdrew from participation in the IOJ activities — although it never renounced its formal membership in the IOJ.

Apart from the membership base, the IOJ in Berlin also consolidated its overal1 form in terms of its professional and political orientation. It was a combination of the heritage of Copenhagen and Prague on the one hand, and the new wave of emancipation of the Third World on the other. And even if the resolutions passed in Berlin initially appear quite radical — reflecting the wild years of the 1960s — it is clear that the seeds of détente were sown at that time.

After all, détente towards the 1970s was to mean essentially a return to the basic ideas of peaceful coexistence, which already at the end of World War II were at the top of the international agenda but which then were overshadowed by the confrontational years of the Cold War. Actually journalists were among the first to rid themselves of the Cold War mentality — namely those journalists who assembled at the World Meetings — and to promote the orientation known as the "spirit of Geneva", along with the "spirit of Bandung". Both of these "spirits" became leading sources of inspiration for the IOJ in the years to come.

Review of developments over the past 50 years

The period after the late 1960s through the 1970s and 80s was indeed characterized by an overall relaxation of tension in international affairs, including the international movement of journalists. It was by no means a period of simple and idyllic détente, as was seen already in August 1968, when Warsaw Pact forces occupied Czechoslovakia and even the IOJ headquarters in Prague were closed for some days. The Vietnam War was going on and terrorism surfaced in Germany, Italy and the UK. Nevertheless, nuclear disarmament between the USA

and the USSR proceeded from words to deeds and an unprecedented project of diplomacy, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe resulted in the landmark "Helsinki Accords" on 1 August 1975.

This was the period when I became directly involved in the movement through my election as IOJ President in September 1976 – at a congress taking place in the same Finlandia Hall where the Final Act of Helsinki was signed. The congress was hosted by the Finnish Union of Journalists – not a member of the IOJ but of the IFJ. Thus the whole Finnish community of journalists was ready, unlike in 1950 at the 3rd IOJ Congress, to demonstrate a desire for détente and co-operation across Europe and beyond. The IFJ also attended as an observer, just as the IOJ attended the IFJ congresses thereafter. In the same "spirit of Helsinki" the two internationals met annually on Capri at an informal platform created by the Italian member union of the IFJ, and the Finnish and the Austrian unions organized special meetings on journalists and détente.

Although the IOJ and the IFJ were now in dialogue with each other, and the IFJ no longer pursued a separatist line, the two organizations continued to have quite different profiles and they went on to compete against each other in the Third World. In this competition the IOJ was actively supporting "anti-imperialist" revolutions, and most of the liberation movements in Africa and Asia were represented in the IOJ membership through their exiled or underground journalist groups[31]. Accordingly, despite an increasing willingness to cooperate the old tendency for confrontation persisted. It was not only the IFJ that was suspicious of the IOJ, typically perceived as an arm of Moscow-led world communism, the IOJ was also wary of the IFJ seen respectively as a soft instrument of US-led imperialism. The trust between the two was shaky and nobody could foresee that they might really unite.

Nevertheless by the 1970s the IOJ and the IFJ were ready to cooperate on professional matters such as protection of journalists on dangerous missions and support for journalists in the developing countries. It was at this stage that UNESCO invited the two internationals and the regional journalist federations in Africa, the Arab world, the ASEAN region and in Latin America to hold consultative meetings. In this process Hıfzı was the representative of UNESCO as I happened to be the representative of the IOJ, which effectively combined the interests of journalists in the socialist East, the developing South and the "progressive" West.

31 For example, the IOJ member in the South Africa during the Apartheid time was the ANC Circle of Journalists, headed by Tambo Mbeki, who later became Nelson Mandela's successor as President of South Africa.

JOURNALIST:
Status, Rights and Responsibilities

Edited by
Kaarle Nordenstreng and Hıfzı Topuz

on behalf of
International Organization of Journalists (IOJ)
International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)
Federation of Latin American Journalists (FELAP)
Federation of Latin American Press Workers (FELATRAP)
Union of African Journalists (UAJ)
Federation of Arab Journalist (FAJ)
Confederation of ASEAN Journalists (CAJ)

Published by
International Organization of Journalists
Prague, 1989

In addition to the anthology edited by myself and Hıfzı, the consultative meetings led in 1983 to the adoption of a landmark document, *the International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism*[32] and later in the 1980s to a Hot Line for the safety of journalists on dangerous missions[33]. After taking the initiative in the late 1970s – while also the MacBride Commission was sitting and the Movement of Non-Aligned countries produced the idea of a New International Information Order – UNESCO did not need to do much to lead the consultations. The driving force of the constellation was the IOJ with its fraternal relations to most of the regional federations. The IFJ was a less enthusiastic partner; it reluctantly acquiesced, as shown by its absence from the final session where the ethical principles were adopted. The meetings were held at least every second year, hosted successively by different partners. By the tenth meeting in 1990, hosted by the IFJ in The Hague, the Consultative Club had reached the status of a loose umbrella organization.[34]

This period of the consultative meetings can indeed be seen as heyday of cooperation within the international movement of journalists. It was cut short by the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989-90. At that point the IOJ was seriously shaken: its strong member unions in former socialist countries began to lose their political and material ground – although most of them had supported the reforms like *perestroika* in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the large secretariat in Prague, with its extensive commercial enterprises which since the 1970s had financed most of the IOJ activities, came under attacks from the rising political forces in Czechoslovakia. Finally the right-wing government even ordered the headquarters to be moved out of the country.[35]

In January 1990 at its 11th Congress in Harare (Zimbabwe) the IOJ was still formally unchanged as the world's largest organization of journalists. On this occasion I stepped down from the Presidency and was succeeded by Armando Rollenberg of Brazil, coming from the second largest member association (after the Soviet Union of Journalists) with a strong trade union orientation. However,

32 http://ethicnet.uta.fi/international/international_principles_of_professional_ethics_in_journalism For background and an assessment of the document of 1983, see Nordenstreng&Topuz (1989: 250–255).

33 http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/hotline-010106.htm

34 The proceedings of these consultative meetings between 1978 and 1990 were compiled into a report by the IOJ.

35 This order has not been put into effect and the legal base of the IOJ in 2013 is still Prague, although all its activities are now over.

the pressures for change from former socialist countries, particularly Czechoslovakia, were too hard to cope with, and the situation was exacerbated by quarrels within the new leadership. Financial resources were rapidly dwindling and activities in training, publication, etc. were gradually discontinued. Member unions one after another decided to join the IFJ, while most of them also remained nominal members in the IOJ.

By the end of the 1990s the IOJ had in fact disappeared from the history of the international movement of journalists, while the IFJ had grown to be an organization also representing the bulk of earlier IOJ membership. The movement was again united like before the Cold War and earlier between the World Wars. However, growth has brought with it internal contradictions to the IFJ. Moreover, the role of the regional organizations has become problematic: they are mostly ineffective or nonexistent, while the IFJ with its regional centres is active on all continents, except in Europe where its sister organization the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ) is well established.

The 120-year history of the movement shows that much has changed but much remains more or less the same. Many issues – from copyright to women journalists – which were discussed already in Antwerp in 1894 are with us still today. There is a great deal to be learned from debates and events throughout the decades, if only we care to recall them in the middle of contemporary concerns surrounded by digitalization and globalization.

One lesson to be learned concerns the way the IFJ presents itself. Its website[36] states that the IFJ is the world's largest organization of journalists representing today around 600,000 members in more than 100 countries. This is obviously true, but the historical background here is inaccurate: "First established in 1926, it was relaunched in 1946 and again, in its present form, in 1952." The IFJ cannot lay claim to the legacy of the pre-war FIJ without mentioning the IOJ; it should concede the developments along with the Cold War, instead of glossing over this period. History is a rich intellectual reserve, which should be discovered in full, with all its contradictions – otherwise it becomes mere window dressing pandering to contemporary interests.

36 http://www.ifj.org/en/pages/about-ifj

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Nordenstreng, Kaarle and Hıfzı Topuz (eds) (1989). *Journalist: Status, Rights and Responsibilities.* Prague: International Organization of Journalists.

HIFZI TOPUZ'A ARMAĞAN KİTABI

İLETİŞİMİN DEVRİM YILLARI

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İLAD İLETİŞİM ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

hiperlink

Hiperlink Yayınları: 69

Yayıncı Sertifika No: 16680
ISBN: 978-9944-157-79-7
Birinci Baskı: Ocak 2014

Genel Yayın Yönetmeni: Yusuf Günbaş
Editör: Füsun Özbilgen
Kapak Tasarım: Yunus Karaaslan
Kapak Fotoğrafı: Nurgül Arıkan
İç Tasarım: Çelebi Şenel
Baskı-Cilt: Net Copy Center Matbaa Sistemleri

İletişimin devrim yılları : Hıfzı Topuz'a armağan kitabı / Korkmaz Alemdar...[ve öte.]; editör Füsun Özbilgen -- İstanbul : Hiperlink Yayınları, 2014.

226 s. ; sm. -- (Hiperlink Yayınları ; 69)
ISBN 978-9944-157-79-7

1. İletişim 2. Kitle iletişim 3. Medya 4. Topuz, Hıfzı
I. Alemdar, Korkmaz II. Özbilgen, Füsun III. Dizi.

302.23 İLE 2014 P96/.İ44 2014

İLAD İLETİŞİM ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ hiperlink

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e-mail: info@hiperlink.com.tr - www.hiperlink.com.tr
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